643 631 The extent of this authority, such as it is, is most ill-defined. It does not clearly and definitely extend beyond the central group of the Kamarakotos and even here many of the Indians never have practical occasion to recognize it, although none would deny it. The Kamarakotos and Kamarakoto-like Indians of the Caroní and other more remote parts are aware of the cacique only when they have occasion to visit the central group. They appear to have no cacique of their own and those that did visit the central group during our stay verbally recognized the authority of this cacique. He submits that his authority does extend widely into this outer region (with which he himself was almost entirely unacquainted until our visit) but in fact his power there is not even nominal. Even in this extremely attenuated way, it is completely false to speak of him as in authority over all the Arekunas, including those of the Gran Sabana and the Taurepánes, although this was claimed for him. The Arekunas as a whole do not have any one chief, and many of them acknowledge no authority [619] outside their own settlements. It would be improper to speak of an Arekuna tribe, since the Arekunas are not an integrated unit, either ethnically or politically, but an agglomeration of small, physically and culturally related but quite distant groups.

562 622 643 171 Schomburgk speaks of (uncommon) cases of female chiefs among the Makuchi. Among the Kamarakotos no woman is ever a chief, either over a household or over a larger group, although otherwise women are by no means treated as inferior beings.

Relationship Concepts

602 601 114 As with many primitive peoples, concepts of family relationships in Kamarakoto are more complex than in nations of European origin, are more specific, and rest on a different basis. Most vocabularies, including even the unusually fine Taurepán vocabulary of Koch-Grünberg, give an imperfect idea of these relationships. This is usually because the investigator tends to seek the Indian equivalents of the words of his own language, a system adequate for obtaining names of objects and for many other purposes but quite inadequate when, as with relationships, the concepts expressed in the two languages are [128] far from being the same. The following carefully checked information was obtained in several different interviews by postulating many different sorts of family groups and asking what each individual in the group would call each other [128] individually. This is a field in which an outside investigator could probably never achieve absolutely complete knowledge, at least not without many years of actual membership in the tribe, but the following account is believed to be nearly complete and essentially correct. Comparisons are made chiefly with

P 218
M
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601 Williams' Makuchi vocabulary. The Makuchi system appears to be like that of
114 the Kamarakotos and Williams evidently understands it.
[17]

Comparisons are made chiefly with

P Sibs (brothers and sisters): There is no general word for "brother," or for "sister."
M The relationship must be more exactly specified than it is by these generalized
601 European concepts, which specify only the sex of the person referred to. In
171 Kamarakoto it is necessary to specify (a) the sex of the person referred to, (b) the sex of the person of reference, and (c) their relative ages. The logical and full system thus involved is as follows:

Sex of person referred to	Sex of person of reference	Relative age of person referred to	Kamarakoto word	Makuchi word (Williams)
Male	Male	Older	rüiko	wi, rui
Male	Male	Younger	(y)akon	moyi, akon
Male	Female	Older	(u)pi uyadetə	warathato, pipi
Male	Female	Younger	pirika	pi
Female	Male	Older	paruchi uyadetə	e-na-ru, na-na, na-nau
Female	Male	Younger	paruchi	we-ri-chi
Female	Female	Older	pasi	pa-chi, tu
Female	Female	Younger	akon	akon

In both languages yakon, akon, has also a more general use to represent a collateral relative of undefined degree and (sometimes) a close friend. Several of these words are also used for relationships, especially those of cousins, which we do not but the Indians do consider to be of the same sort as brother and sisterhood.

It is evident that neither tribe is absolutely logical or complete in its classification. The Kamarakotos do and the Makuchis can apply the same word, akon,[168] to a younger sib of the same sex, i.e. to the younger brother of a male and the younger sister of a female. The Kamarakotos, but not the Makuchis, also use essentially one word for brother of a female, pirika and pi (the essential root of pirika), and one for sister of a male, paruchi, distinguishing an older brother or sister, if necessary, by uyadetə, which means an older
P 601 person generally. The modified system toward which the Kamarakotos are plainly tending could thus be shown as follows:

168 [see footnote on p. 327, category 116 – Analyst]